

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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EA/PRCM - HARRY THAYER
S/S - MR. BRIDGES

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O P 152310Z APR 77 ZFF6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MANILA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 085572

NODIS
EYES ONLY FOR HOLBROOKE AND UNGER FROM GLEYSTEN

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PFOR, US, CH, TW

SUBJECT:HOLBROOKE VISIT TO TAIPEI

1. THE POLITICAL BACKDROP FOR YOUR BRIEF TAIPEI VISIT
WILL BE A MIXTURE OF HOPE AND APPREHENSION OVER OUR CHINA
POLICY SPICED IN INNER CIRCLES BY RESENTMENT OVER WHAT IS
PERCEIVED AS OUR HIGH-HANDLED TREATMENT IN THE SHEN AND
NUCLEAR CASES. ALTHOUGH ROC CONCERN ABOUT THE IMMINENCE
OF A DIPLOMATIC BREAK HAS EASED SOMEWHAT, THE LEADERSHIP
REMAINS TROUBLED BY THE POSSIBILITY THAT WE WILL MOVE
SUDDENLY WITH LITTLE OR NO ADVANCE NOTICE.

2. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE SOURNESS OF THE ROC'S MOOD
WILL SURFACE IN YOUR MEETINGS WITH CHIANG CHING-KUO AND
FOREIGN MINISTER SHEN. THE PREMIER NORMALLY FINESSES

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RATHER THAN CONFRONTS DIFFICULT AND SENSITIVE ISSUES. THIS
TENDENCY IS LIKELY TO BE ENHANCED BY HIS SATISFACTION
OVER YOUR VISIT, AND BY HIS HOPES OF ESTABLISHING A
PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP AND LEAVING YOU WITH THE IMPRESSION
OF A REASONABLE AND FAITHFUL ALLY.

3. THESE SAME CONSIDERATIONS WILL PROBABLY INFLUENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER SHEN'S PRESENTATION WHICH IN ANY EVENT
WILL PROBABLY FEATURE A FLUENT 1950'S STYLE ACCOUNT OF THE

DANGERS OF "RED CHINA". SHEN BY THE WAY IS NOT
CLOSE TO THE PREMIER AND SHOULD YOU WANT TO LEAVE A
MESSAGE THAT GETS BACK TO THE PREMIER, MINISTER WITHOUT
PORTFOLIO, S.K. CHOU WOULD BE A FAR BETTER CHANNEL.

4. ISSUES:

CHINA POLICY: IN OFFICIAL CONTACTS WITH THE ROC WE
HAVE AVOIDED DIRECT DISCUSSION OF NORMALIZATION ISSUES
OR POST-NORMALIZATION SCENARIOS. I SUGGEST THAT YOU
DO NOTHING TO REMOVE THE ROC LEADERSHIP'S PREVAILING
IMPRESSION THAT NORMALIZATION IS EVENTUALLY INEVITABLE,
WHILE ALSO GIVING THEM A SENSE OF CONFIDENCE THAT WE
WILL TAKE TAIWAN'S ECONOMIC AND SECURITY INTERESTS INTO
ACCOUNT. SHOULD THE ROC RAISE CONSULTATIONS AND RE-
AFFIRMATION OF EXISTING TIES, THE CAREFULLY WORKED-OUT
LANGUAGE WHICH HABIB RELAYED TO SHEN IN FEBRUARY IS AS
FOLLOWS.

-- ON CONSULTATIONS. WE ARE AWARE OF THE NEED FOR
APPROPRIATE DISCUSSIONS WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT ON MATTERS
AFFECTING OUR RELATIONSHIP. OUR APPROACH TO NORMALIZA-
TION IS UNDER REVIEW AND THE PACE AND MODALITIES REMAIN
TO BE DETERMINED.

-- ON REAFFIRMATION OF TIES. WE ARE FULLY CONSCIOUS
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OF THE ROC CONCERNS AND, AS REFLECTED IN THE SECRETARY'S
RECENT REFERENCES TO TAIWAN, WE WILL CONTINUE TO BEAR
THESE IN MIND IN OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS.

NON-PROLIFERATION: OUR NUCLEAR REPRESENTATION TO
THE ROC HAS BEEN TIGHTLY HELD AND SHOULD NOT BE MENTIONED
IN THE PRESENCE OF CODEL MEMBERS. IN SUCH A SETTING,
YOU CAN WELCOME THE PREMIER'S PUBLIC VOWS NOT TO DEVELOP
A NUCLEAR CAPABILITY AND HIS SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S
NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY. IN A PRIVATE SETTING, YOU
MAY WISH TO EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR THE ROC'S FAVORABLE
RESPONSE TO OUR REPRESENTATION AND CONFIDENCE THAT
TECHNICAL DETAILS WILL BE SATISFACTORILY WORKED OUT.
THE ROC MIGHT PRESS FOR A GUARANTEED SUPPLY OF URANIUM
FUEL FOR THEIR POWER PROGRAM AS A REWARD FOR THEIR
RESPONSIVENESS TO OUR NUCLEAR DEMANDS. YOU CAN BE
POSITIVE SO LONG AS YOU AVOID A COMMITMENT -- CONGRESS
AND THE NRC COULD HAVE A FUTURE SAY IN THE MATTER.

HUMAN RIGHTS: HUMAN RIGHTS IS TRICKY BECAUSE IF IT IS RAISED, THE ROC IS LIKELY TO COUNTER WITH OUR SILENCE ON THE PRC, A SITUATION WHICH IT HOPES TO EXPLOIT TO COMPLICATE NORMALIZATION. IN ANY EVENT, WE ARE NOT UNDER

THE GUN ON THE TAIWAN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. PRESENT-DAY TAIWAN IS A FAR CRY FROM THE CORRUPT, POLICE STATE OF THE LATE 40'S AND RANKS RESPECTABLY ON THE ASIAN HUMAN RIGHTS SCALE. NEVERTHELESS, OPPOSITION TO BASIC POLICIES CONTINUES TO BE A PUNISHABLE OFFENSE AND THERE ARE PROBABLY SEVERAL HUNDRED POLITICAL PRISONERS.

5. I STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT YOU DECLINE PRESS CONFERENCES OR ANY OTHER SUBSTANTIVE DEALINGS WITH THE LOCAL PRESS WHICH HAS THE TROUBLESOME TENDENCY OF DISTORTION AND PRINTING WHAT IT WOULD LIKE TO HEAR RATHER THAN WHAT WAS ACTUALLY SAID.

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6. I'M SURE LEN WILL HAVE ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS FOR YOU.

7. FOR MANILA: PLEASE ASSURE DELIVERY TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE UPON HIS ARRIVAL.
CHRISTOPHER

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NNN

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